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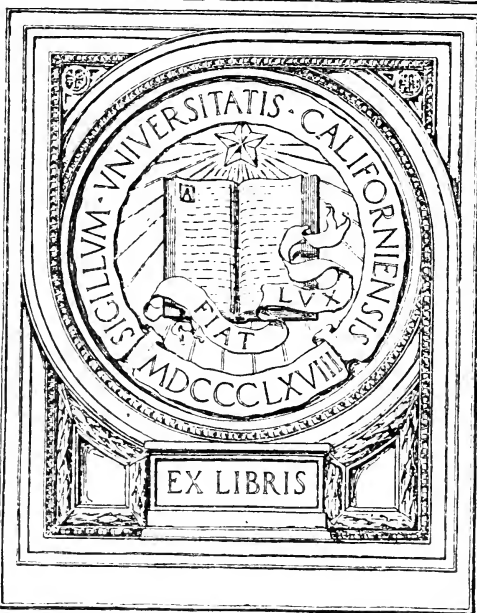
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LETTER  
from  
**A German Staff  
Officer**

who resided a long time in America,

to

A Friend  
in the United States



Preußische Verlagsanstalt G. m. b. H.  
Berlin SW 68, Ritterstraße 50.

70. 1910  
Admission

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# FOREWORD

Berlin, February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1915

My dear . . . . .,

I have just read over your letter to the General for the second time. While the subject matter is fresh in my mind, I want to tell you how deep is the impression it has made on me, and how much I appreciate the opportunity of reading it. I have seen nothing that gives so clearly and dispassionately, Germany's views of this war, and her side of some of the much discussed questions.

It did not need this letter to convince me of the justice and righteousness of your claims, for I came here I hope, with my mind free and open to see and understand Germany and the Germans. I grant that it was hard at times in the States, to maintain an open mind, in the face of so poisoned and prejudiced a press. I am glad to note a fairer attitude in the public newspapers to-day, and **I indulge the hope, that time will grant your great country, the just and true estimate, which it so richly deserves.**

May I add a word of my personal experiences—I **have found here in my short stay, a grander example of unity, organization and patriotism, than I believed possible in these days.** It is a source of inspiration and encouragement. It will be a pleasure to me to tell my people of it, wherever and whenever I have the chance to do so. It augurs well for all of us as *white men*. Though we are in the midst of a great war, I feel that out of its fires and fierce heat and passions, will be moulded a fairer and truer faith in our mission *as white men* in this world.

I thank you for the opportunity of reading this letter; and **I assure you of my earnest belief that truth and justice always triumph, when they have such exponents as you and your people.**

With kindest personal regards to you, I am,

Very truly

.....





Berlin, November 19<sup>th</sup>, 1914.

My dear General,

Bismarck has once said that never greater lies are told than in war time, and any one on either side whether that of the Central Powers or the Triple Entente may feel at this time how vitally his own views have been distorted. The actual tremendous fight unchained so many national passions that it must be hard for you on the other side of the big gulf to get a calm and dispassionate judgement. I will try to give it to you so far as concerns the cause of Germany.

You and all our mutual friends in the army know that during my stay in Washington I had but one single aim and object, namely, to establish friendly and comradelike relations between our two services, hoping that such relations would spread from the armies to the people at large. It was consequently a great and unforgettable satisfaction, when at my farewell dinner your flags and the German colours greeted me from the room's walls and ceiling.

You will remember that I was—like the majority of my compatriotes—not an anglophobe. I was always an exponent of Pan-Teutonism, including in this word all nations of the Anglo-Saxon and Germanic race, because I deemed such a movement throughout the whole world, the only way to prevent this terrible war.

I saw no other mediator between Germany and England but the United States. I was never tired to point out that any European war that should find Germany and England

in hostile camps would be pernicious for the whole Teutonic race, consequently for the United States. For this very reason I wanted her to be a reconciliator in the Anglo-German antagonism.

I wrote in the "New York Sun" on April 6<sup>th</sup>, 1912, in an article entitled "The Future in the Far East":—

"... It occurred to me during the last summer that there exists a remarkable correspondence of American and German interests in China.

Speaking from this point of view, I have thought and often have said in the course of various conversations that according to my idea, it seemed to me somehow in the line of this country's foreign politics not to widen but to contract the split existing between Great Britain and Germany...

Shall the white Powers look quietly on at the changes under way in the Far East? Shall they continue to occupy themselves with minor quarrels while the yellow spectre grows to threatening proportions, claiming no more and no less than world supremacy?..."

In the "American Journal of International Law", April 1914, I published another article about the Central American Question, in which I said on page 222 :

"Nearly two decades ago, the German Emperor uttered words that cannot be forgotten, calling upon the western nations to preserve their most sacred possessions; and each new day the prophetic significance of that utterance becomes clearer. Therefore, all reasonable people should exert their influence to make the Christian Teutonic world realize that which it is in need of—Unity.

It is, of course, not an easy matter to accomplish such a high purpose. It requires a thorough and comprehensive process of enlightenment; in this work, the schools and the press of all interested countries should combine their efforts; above all, it requires the honest desire of the governments—especially those of London, Berlin, and Washington—to work together

in cordial understanding. Once this determination for cordial co-operation has everywhere been evenly cultivated, all else will be found by those who wish to find it."

In the last June issue of "The XIX<sup>th</sup> Century and after" you find, by the way, similar thoughts expressed by Sir Bamfylde Fuller in his article "An ideal alliance".

You know my ideas about the Panama-Canal, ideas of which I am well aware that they express the secret apprehensions of the British Admiralty and Government. Mind that England considered this canal never anything else but an extremely strong offensive and defensive weapon, nay, a scepter to rule the two greatest oceans of the world!

In the event of the loss of the Suez-Canal, the existence of the Panama-Canal insures to England a short route to, and communication with, her possessions in the Far East. She has always—up to the present year—framed her canal-policy accordingly, a fact which becomes perfectly apparent to everybody who studies the history of the canal-treaties and the previous actions of England.

What else is Jamaica but a "Malta" in the "American Mediterranean"? Both these islands are strongholds, naval bases near the two canals of world-wide importance, hammers that England secured for herself, ages before anybody thought of the anvil's probable existence. British diplomacy began indeed early to study the chart of the world!

I believe that the Panama-Canal has much to do with this war, because England could hope for the United States' neutrality only as long as the canal had not proved to be navigable without any interruptions, and *only as long as the people at large in the United States had not yet become cognizant of the power given into their hand with this canal's property-rights!* Only then could Great Britain dare call the Japs to arms against Germany. With the American Fleet in the Pacific it was doubtful what attitude your country and the Netherlands would adopt, and whether the Japanese would follow this call that in the meantime unchained all their ambitions in China as well as in the Great Ocean!

I may be mistaken but in the present situation it seems to me that England, with regard to your and the Dutch possessions in the Pacific, is using Japan simply as a club for your and the Netherlands' neutrality, at least she *meant* to do so. Consequently, if *that* was to be part of the game, the war could not be postponed any longer.

These political speculations, however, are not the reason for my letter. I want to tell you and my friends what has happened and what is going on in Europe, and I hope to succeed in getting this letter to you in spite of British censorship.

Leaving untouched certain falsehoods which turned public opinion against Germany, I want to show up our case by making positive statements, little caring about those of our adversaries, and far from wishing to "drive" you or anybody who may read this letter. Nevertheless I have our cause at heart and want our point of view to be understood by you, by my friends abroad, by a kindred people with whom we never had the slightest quarrel. I want it all the more as, against the principle of "*audiat et altera pars*", we have been cut off from direct communication with the United States.

European politics are very complex, even for a European who does not study them. More so for the average American who considers his continent a world *per se* and who is not bothering nor likes to be bothered about things abroad. This conception of your country's position in the world may have been altered during this war in the minds of the people at large. At least they realized the existence of a close connection between America's and Europe's well-being.

As things are not normal in Europe, and as business in the United States reflects this fact, the American wants to find out who is accountable for the trouble. He did not have to examine this question for a very long time, because he was told that Germany, and, in Germany, the Kaiser are to be held guilty. He was willing to accept this statement, because since years the greater part of the international press has been spreading news and rumors about Germany, intended to show us in a bad, if not in a contemptable, light.

Those Americans who do neither know nor understand Germany and who neither speak nor read German, are in the majority. They had anyhow little or no feeling for us. When the war broke out, they offered a sufficiently ploughed and fertile ground to grow the seed of hatred and distrust which then our enemies became especially busy in sowing with seeming results.

It is useless to cry about spilled milk. We cannot alter the fact that we are more or less disliked. That is a matter of taste, not of justice. But, in the spirit of fairness, *justice* may be and ought to be given even to one who is disliked. Moreover, the present tangle, no matter how it is going to be solved, bears the germs of many a difficult *future* problem and affects *the whole civilised world* far too seriously as to be looked upon with biased eyes by any one. At least I think so!

Now let me present our case. Germany with an area of 540,877 sq.km. (little more than the thousandth part of our whole planet's surface) is smaller than many a state of the Union and yet it holds about 68,000,000 inhabitants. Germany has been a bloodstained battlefield through centuries. She was a bulwark against the Huns, a victim to religious contests in the thirty years' war, subject to Louis XVI and Napoleon's ambitions, and has suffered terribly from not being a united country.

Since the 18<sup>th</sup> of January, 1871, however, we stand united. *This day was so to speak our independence day!!* Ever since our thrifty and industrial people have built up our commerce and trade that brought about great traffic and intercourse with the whole world, especially between our two countries. Up to 1871 our industry did not mean much. Before the actual war broke out, we were represented on all markets of the world. The "Made in Germany", meant by the British to boycott our goods, *became an advertisement* for fine quality, and our chemical, our electrical industry as well as many others developed to great importance.

But we have not only been an industrial country. We had to be nourished, and although from the original 42% of

our agricultural population 14<sup>0</sup>/<sub>10</sub>, wandered into the workshop in the course of the last 25 years, we succeeded in steadily increasing our agricultural products. For instance, Germany's average wheat crop per acre is the highest in the world.

This was only possible by using artificial fertilisers, by putting every available square foot under the plough, in one word by establishing a method of intensive farming which made a huge number of small estates come into greater prosperity while an elaborate Credit-system, adopted, by the way, with modifications by the United States, helped the farmer in his work.

You know what a science we made of forestry, and that amongst other countries also the United States has introduced our respective methods. In short, we have tried in every way to use peace for peaceful work, and to enhance not only our own welfare and prosperity, but also to be a useful member in the family of civilised nations. We are given credit to be a reliable furnisher and a good customer.

The imports from the United States to Germany amounted  
in 1911 to \$335,750,000  
„ 1912 to \$396,500,000  
„ 1913 to \$427,750,000

The German exports to the United States amounted  
in 1911 to \$159,950,000  
„ 1912 to \$174,250,000  
„ 1913 to \$178,300,000

The total imports from oversea countries to Germany excluding those of the British colonies amounted  
in 1912 to about \$1,168,250,000.

This trade and all the rest, I repeat, has been brought about by a comparatively *small* country, a fact, perhaps not realized by every American, whose own land is about 17 times as big as ours. That such a small country like Germany should succeed in becoming something of a commercial rival of Great Britain seems to have aroused her jealousy.

At any rate we saw with regret that our relations with England were unsatisfactory. We did not know why, and we do not know it to-day.

There was no rhyme nor reason why we should not have come to a good, solid understanding. We tried for it hard, but in vain! England turned to France and Russia, and it was a remarkable coincidence, that, ever since the Triple Entente was complete, our neighbours in the East and in the West adopted an attitude against us that grew more and more hostile.

In France the idea of "revenge" that had been slumbering, became again a vital issue. "Revenge", what for?? Anybody who has studied history knows that 1870/71 was Napoleon's III and Eugenie's war, and that Alsace-Lorraine is centuries old German soil, robbed from us by Louis XIV and his successors.

In Russia whose back we sheltered while she was at war with Japan, we observed equally a growing animosity. When in 1909 Bosnia and Herzegowina were formally annexed by Austria-Hungary, it meant merely to name a child, born long ago. Russia chose to feel hurt, and war seemed imminent. Why on earth Russia did feel hurt, nobody knew, as those territories had been under Austrian administration since the peace of San Stefano, that is to say, since 30 years. It may be that Russia wanted them for herself and that her wish was encouraged. It may also have been a revival of old scorn. At any rate sea shores have always inspired Russia.

Then came the Balkan war, and ever since the Panslavistic spectre grew to threatening proportions. Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro were to become Russian vassal states. Russia's left arm reached out for a Mediterranean coast line again. Or does anybody believe that Russia would have adopted the rôle of the all-slavic protector, if those Balkan states had happened to be in Greenland?

Iswolski's negotiations with Ito brought about Russia's alliance with Japan. As the latter was already England's ally, the network of the Quadruple-(not Triple-)Entente covered since 1907 the entire globe extending from the line Bermuda—Jamaica—Falkland islands over the Atlantic, Europe, and Asia unto the surf of the Pacific on Australia's shores. Yet, this alliance was purely a measure to secure peace, to establish a

reasonable "Balance of Power" in Europe. At least we have been told so by England, while the Entente-press was never tired to speak of the "German Peril".

The whole world was nourished day by day with news that had passed British censorship. Why did England, enabled by her cable monopoly, stir public opinion against us just as well in deepest peace as now in war? People say:—"In love and war all is fair." Even in war this quotation ought to be taken with a grain of salt. But how about peace?? Perhaps we Germans have been committing a grievous fault by never trying sufficiently to be understood abroad. The press campaign against us, now livelier than ever, seems to be an implement of war for the sake of the "Balance of Power".

Let us examine the weights of that Balance.

Great Britain really deserves that name, for she decidedly *is* great. She would be greater still, had the Star-spangled Banner never been unfolded, had then George Washington not established the principle to avoid "entangling alliances with . . ."

Great Britain, that is to say, the United Kingdom (314,377) and the British colonies (29,703,800 sq.km.) embrace more than *one fifth* of all land on earth. In that vast area live more than 422,000,000 inhabitants. The British Empire is consequently about 55 times as big and has 6.3 times as many inhabitants as Germany, that nevertheless "threatened and endangered" the very existence of the British world.

There is Russia with an area of 22,556,500 sq.km. and 170,000,000 inhabitants, which means that she is *only* about 40 times as big, and has *only* 2.5 times as many inhabitants as Germany, whereas France occupies about the same area as we have and is populated by 40,000,000 souls, her colonies comprising 10,491,200 sq.km. with 53,443,000 inhabitants. Japan and her colonies figure in this account with 673,700 sq.km. and 72,207,000 souls.

By summing up, we find that the Quadruple-Entente represents an area of 64,276,041 sq.km. with 575,650,000 souls.

The counterbalancing two Central-Powers, Austria-Hungary holding a territory of 676,616 sq.km. with 51,390,223 in-



habitants, possess in Europe 1,217,493 sq.km. with 119,390,223 inhabitants. The German colonies bring these figures up to 4,170,493 sq.km. and 131,390,223 inhabitants.

This leaves a net plus of 60,105,548 sq.km. with 444,259,777 inhabitants in favour of the Entente.

Yet Germany is accused to have plotted the war and to have attacked her neighbours. Consequently, for the sake of civilisation, Germany and the German "Militarism" must be destroyed.

Let us compare Germany's expenditures for her armament on land and sea, including military pensions, to the respective expenditures of several other countries. *Per capita* of the population they amount ed lately in shillings a year:—

in England .....	to	33
„ France .....	„	29
„ U. S. of America .....	„	24
„ Germany .....	„	22.

If in spite of these figures *we* are to be credited with that preposterous "Militarism", then I ask you, whether there exists not also a "Navalism".

I should say that Great Britain is a strong exponent of this "Navalism", because she believes in the so-called "two-power standard". This means that her fleet must *always* be bigger than the two next biggest fleets on earth in order to be the only power under the sun that is able to waive the rules—I mean to say, to rule the waves. Of course, she wants to *defend* the waterways, from the head of the British Empire to all its different members. That is the perfectly plausible answer you get when you ask.

Very well. And Germany? We, too, must *defend* the waterways of our trade, carrying a commercial fleet of 5 billion Dollars' worth, and *in addition* to that we must *defend* our threatened frontiers:—Yet, have *we* ever claimed anything like a "two-power standard" *on land* like the British *on sea*? A glance at the peace strength of some European armies answers this question:—

Russia..... 1,384,000 men

Germany... 797,000 „ (colonial troops included)

France . . . . .	645,000 men (colonial troops excluded)
Great Britain	399,081 „ (322,910 Territorials, 271,910 men Indian army, etc. excluded).

Under the principle of the two-power standard, our army would necessarily have to consist of more than 2 million men to outnumber France and Russia.

We did not claim that two-power standard, but for very palpable reasons we had to have something of an army and resolved to have a good one, to guard us against attacks. We paid simply an insurance on our national fortune in people, land and money. That is our "Militarism", first combated, now praised and desired by England. The Entente had just as much right to look with evil eyes upon our national defence on land and sea as your neighbour has a right to feel hurt when you wire your house!

We never claimed world supremacy nor rule of the waves like the British, nor any other supremacy like that which Russia claims over all Slavs, although many millions of Germans live beyond our frontiers. We wanted to be left alone, that's all. That is true, and I am in a position to know that it is true. We were happy and prosperous and could only lose, nothing gain, even in a victorious war. We felt about war exactly as you do in the States:—A great misfortune that one must not meet unprepared, but not an adventure one goes for. We are not a nation of fools. If we were, we could not have contributed to civilisation as we did.

I have heard that some book of some retired general which the British called the "German Bible" and distributed all over your country, has created much havoc. I have never seen nor read it. Retired officers in all countries write generally for money, because they want to add to their pension. Consequently, they eventually try to be sensational. This may be here the case.

The book of which I heard only now, means to us just as much as, for instance, a book of General Ainsworth would mean to the United States' Army. It expresses our nation's aims and

objects just as accurately as Norman Angell's "Great Illusion" discloses the goals and views of the British colonial office.

Ever since I heard about Bernhardi's book, I inquired after it. Up to now I have not found one single man who laid eyes on it. *Not one!* I am told that it was published several years ago, but did not sell. It is extraordinary the difference between the immense sale which this book had in England and the fact that it is practically unknown in Germany.

Nevertheless this book and similar ones have been used against Germany although this kind of literature exists in all countries. As after all everybody believes what he wants to believe, I will not argue about this. I wonder only how much certain newspapers in the United States observed the principles of neutrality laid down in the proclamation of President Wilson. Did it ever occur to those citizens of your hospitable country who are partisans of our foes and fight for them by word and pen that they became Anglo- or Franco-, etc. Americans? *They do the very thing that the Americans of German descent have been accused of.* I do not know with how much right they have been accused. At any rate I should think that especially the German element in the United States ought to stand for *justice* only, not for partisanship!

The other battle-cry was against "autocratic" Germany. We are a constitutional and federal monarchy, just as the United States is a federal Republic. Federalism, if it be permitted to quote John Basset Moore, implies Democracy. And in fact, on what a democratic basis Germany has solidly been built, appears from this war!

The Kaiser is not Emperor *of* Germany like the Czar *of* all the Russias, he is "The German Emperor", and has less personal power than the President of the United States. *Neither* of them could nor would unfold the banner of war for an *unjust* cause! But in the present case the state was in danger! According to our conception, the state is an end, the individual the means to that end. What else is that but collectivism? If, consequently, the end is threatened, those who are the means collect and fight for that end, no matter whether they are called to arms or not. And I assure you, they *did* come right away,

and two millions more than we wanted, men who were under no obligation whatsoever to enlist. They came to fight for their fatherland! You have within your own borders many of them who cannot return, because England, against the rules of international law, prevents them from getting home.

Let me cite a little incident that happened in the beginning of August and was put to verses by an eye-witness. Here is my translation:—

A brave young lad of sixteen years  
Enlists like all the rest.  
The doctor tells him that he fears,  
Too narrow is his chest.  
“Why? To a bullet 'tis no loss”—  
The boy says with disdain—  
“And never to the iron cross,  
Should ever I attain!”

That is the spirit of the people. Can anybody sincerely believe that such spirit would prevail were this to be “the Kaiser’s war”, long plotted, planned and prepared by “militarism” and dictated by an autocratic ukas?? I should think not. The German people are animated by feelings such as Lowell expressed so beautifully in world-renowned words, quoted on the monument at Soldiers’ Field in Harvard University:—

“Though Love repine and Reason chafe,  
There is a voice without reply:—  
'tis man’s perdition to be safe  
When for the Truth he ought to die!”

Had we wanted to attack our neighbours, there were plenty of other and better opportunities! We did not do it during the Boer-war nor during the Russo-Japanese war. We did not only “miss these chances”, but we purposely denied other powers our help when after the famous Faschoda-case they wanted to fall on England’s back while she was engaged in South Africa.

The “autocratic Kaiser and War Lord” has kept peace, and we with him! Mind you, there exists a firm and fixed solidarity between every German and the Kaiser. It exists

just on account of the fact that *Emperordom in Germany is a tree rooting in best kind of democratic soil, and bearing its crown right in the heart of every single German*. That is the secret of our unity, that is why we forget minor quarrels when the Fatherland is in danger, that is why our Emperor *could* say:—"I know of no parties any more, I know but German brothers." That is why also *this* battle-cry against autocracy cannot find a resounding echo. Those who started it, are by now convinced that they were mistaken, and even the "Times" admitted this war to be a war of the German people.

Now why *did* England declare war on Germany? The official answer is:—"For the sake of Belgium's neutrality". This is so unselfish a reason that it seems necessary, to examine it a little more closely.

Before I speak, let me quote Mr. G. F. Steffen M.P., a *Swede* who expressed his views on Belgium's neutrality in the beginning of October 1914 as follows:—

" . . . Why did the Belgians sacrifice themselves? Because they were francophile and germanophobe, and because Belgium was prepared for a military and diplomatic co-operation with France. Does anybody believe that Belgium would have fought to the bitter end to prevent *French* troops from passing through? And who believes that in this case England would have declared war against France in order to defend Belgium's neutrality??

"Why is it impossible for any reasonable man to believe such things? Because everybody must see, and admit that no virulent nation sacrifices itself merely to be neutral, nor would it fight with utmost strength unless to save its national interests. If these interests are identical with the loyalty to some more or less clearly circumscribed obligations of neutrality—very well. But if *not*, then neutrality ought to be abolished.

Belgium thought of insuring her *future* as France's and England's friend. To think so and to act accordingly was Belgium's right. But it is an enormous and

conscious falsehood to pretend that under the given conditions the resistance against the *passage* and *only* the passage of German troops was nothing but a defence of neutrality. Belgium—not according to diplomatic forms, but in reality—chose and obediently kept her place amongst Germany's enemies. She must not be blamed for that, but that is no *neutrality*!

Germany's procedures offered the Belgians a way out:—That of military-political passivity. That they rejected it, can only have two reasons, namely that they considered Germany their foe, France their friend, and that long ago they were *secretly bound* to France and England. *In both cases Belgium had renounced to her neutrality already before the war."*

So far for the views of a politician from another *neutral* country, expressed *before* we published some of the Documents found in Brussels. Mr. Steffen's opinion becomes more palpable, if one bears in mind the fact that Belgium's almighty Premier, Monsieur de Broqueville, is a born Frenchman, who was naturalized in Belgium, and whose sympathies for the Triple-Entente were known. Ever since he was in office, he used all his influence to serve France's and England's interests, and he is most likely the one to be held responsible for the stand that his unfortunate adoptive country took in the present conflict.

A Frenchman, Mr. E. Troimaux, illustrates this attitude of Belgium by a very interesting article written in Havre and published in the "Echo de Paris" on Nov. 9<sup>th</sup>. He says therein that M. Davignon, Belgium's Secretary of State, protested against the violation of Belgian neutrality in Paris, Berlin, London, Vienna, and Petersburg on July 24<sup>th</sup> in a note reading as follows:—

"Belgium is decided to have her neutrality respected.  
*The Belgian Army is mobilised."*

Then, describing the feeling in Belgium *before* the war, Troimaux writes:

"From which side will the intruder come? From the German side? From the French side?

Fight against France? They would not have been able to do it. *I have been assured that three quarters of their army would have refused to obey.*"

Nevertheless, or perhaps just for this very reason, all efforts have been made by our enemies, especially by England, to picture us as a people who make it a business to violate international law and to break treaties. It has even been asserted that the German lust for conquest would not stop at the boundary of neutral Holland.

From the disclosures made on October 12<sup>th</sup> in our "North German Gazette", the world, as far as it was disposed to do so, could gather how matters stood in regard to Belgium's neutrality. What this official paper published was only the documentary substantiation of things that were not new to us. The fact that there existed a secret military agreement—for such it was—had come to our knowledge long ago. Therefore it would have been *suicidal* for us to await supinely what the former Belgian minister in Berlin, *Baron Greindl* himself, declared to be the program of our enemies. He wrote, as it is known, on December 12<sup>th</sup>, 1911:—

"On the French side we are threatened not only from the south of Luxemburg, but there is also danger along our entire common frontier. We have at hand no mere suppositions for this assertion. We have positive grounds for it.

The idea of an outflanking evolution from the north falls undoubtedly within the plans of the Entente Cordiale. If that were not the case, the plan of fortifying Flushing would not have caused such an outcry in Paris and London. People there did not even disguise the reasons why it was wished that the Scheldt should remain without fortifications. The purpose in view was to transport without hindrance an English garrison to Antwerp in order to establish in Belgium a basis of operations for an offensive movement in the direction of the lower Rhine and Westphalia, and then to involve us in it, which would not be difficult; for, after having given up this stronghold of our national safety, we should have thrown

away, through our own fault, the last possibility of resisting the demands of our dubious protectors, after having been so unwise as to let them in. *The declarations of Colonel Barnardiston at the time when the Entente Cordiale was concluded, as perfidious as they were naïve, clearly showed us what the game is . . .*".

Sir Edward Grey, in his speech of August 3<sup>rd</sup>, tried to uphold the fiction that conferences of military and naval experts need not have a binding character. That is impossible. He himself destroyed this fiction by admitting that he, in connection with the then *Premier*, Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, had *approved* of these conferences. That is to say, they were *backed by the British Government*. It follows that the government in Belgium must have backed them *too*. That this was the case, appears from the fact that a Belgian diplomat expresses his views about such agreements to the Belgian Foreign Office and raises a warning voice as to their serious consequences for the management of Belgian policies in the event of a war between Germany and France.

I doubt that, for instance, the people of the United States would in a similar case have approved of a similar step, taken by their government. I doubt that the Belgian people would have trusted their national independence to English and French bayonets, had they been consulted.

It is strange that the London "Times", in ignorance of our discoveries made in Brussels, declared on October 12<sup>th</sup>, incidentally the very same day on which we published part of those documents:—

"Neutrality was a fateful gift for Belgium. It prevented her from negotiating any kind of military or other treaties, and making agreements to secure the rapid and decisive help of her English friends. The English and Belgian staffs could make no suitable plans for *military preparations*, troop transports, railway and commissary service, etc., without, *considering the matter strictly, violating neutrality.*"



Although, as mentioned before, we knew all about the so-called Belgian neutrality, we asked the Belgian Government twice—the second time after the fall of Lüttich—whether it would grant us free passage upon our guaranteeing Belgium's national independence and territorial integrity. This offer was not only declined, but people were incited to wage a franc-tireur war. This, too, has been proven by documentary evidence, and every one is aware of the unspeakable sufferings, the misled Belgians had consequently to endure.

We have given the Belgians *every* chance. Although we knew since years about her secret conniving with France and England, we did not even *then* accuse her publicly when we were at war with each other! Our Chancellor very clearly stated on August 4<sup>th</sup>, why circumstances had rendered our armies' passage through Belgium an imperative necessity. Notwithstanding our knowledge about Belgium's actions, we *purposely* took upon *us* the apparent blame to have violated international law, hoping that the eyes of the Belgian Cabinet would finally be opened.

It was only when all our attempts, to come to terms with Belgium, had proved a failure that we set forth these facts. They are so incredible that the audience disbelieves them. That, of course, I do understand. Meanwhile the incredulous attitude of the world proves in itself to what an extent certain Governments have been hypocritical. The documents of which only some have been published, will be facsimilised when we deem it the right moment to do so. At any rate our conscience about the passage through Belgium is clear with or without the teaching of H. Grotius, the father of international law who says in his "*De iure belli ac pacis* II 13, 3" that *to grant a passage does not mean to give up neutrality*.—

Some day the historian may call this war *the growing pains of the world*. But we who live in the presence, must and do look upon it as the greatest crime that ever has been committed in world's history. Not so much on account of the fighting itself—war being neither immoral nor unmoral, simply non-moral—but for the fact that a *most sacred principle* has been deadly hurt!

*Propter invidiam this Principle of Race was hurt and could have been hurt only, because it had neither been recognized nor cultivated in the right moment. For this grievous fault the whole Western World will have to pay very dearly in the years to come!! The fault, the crime is their's who sacrificed Racial Feelings to the Hunger for Gold\*).*

Everybody feels intensely hot about this war. I do not attribute this fact to personal sympathies or antipathies. They hardly count, they come and go like the tides. But here is something quite different, here is a subconscious feeling that

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\*) Sir Alfred Mond in the Saturday Review, Sept. 11<sup>th</sup>, 1897, expressed himself as follows:—

“Is there a mine to exploit, a railway to build, a native to convert from bread-fruit to tinned meat, from temperance to trade-gin the German and the Englishman are struggling to be first. A million petty disputes build up the greatest cause of war the world has ever seen. *If Germany were extinguished to-morrow, the day after to-morrow there is not an Englishman in the world who would not be the richer.* Nations have fought for years over a city or a right of succession; *must they not fight for two hundred and fifty million pounds of yearly commerce?*”

All the fashion in which England has been made to learn the real extent of German commercial rivalry, have all done their works, and now England and Germany alike realize the imminent probability of war. What Bismarck realized and what we too may soon come to see, is that not only is there the most real conflict of interests between England and Germany, but that England is the only great Power, who could fight Germany without tremendous risk and without doubt of the issue. Her partners in the Triple Alliance would be useless against England, Austria, because she could do nothing, Italy, because she dares not lay herself open to attack by France.

The growth of Germany's fleet has done no more than to make the blow of England fall on her more heavily. The ships would soon be at the bottom of the sea or in convoy to English ports; Hamburg and Bremen, the Kiel Canal and the Baltic ports would lie under the guns of England waiting, until the indemnity were settled. Our work over, we need not even be at the pains to alter Bismarck's words to Ferry, and to say to France and Russia “seek some compensation. Take inside Germany, whatever you like:—you can have it”.

To this pass has the muddling of the German emperor brought Germany and at a time when England has awakened to what is alike inevitable and her best hope of prosperity: “*Germaniam esse delendam.*”

This was written 18 years ago, and yet it is an accurate picture of the British mind to-day.

we *all*, friends and enemies, partisans and neutrals, stand on the threshold of a *New Era!* *Unprepared for its tasks of gigantic importance, in helpless disunion we see it dawn upon us*, and we realize the unspeakable misfortune that *jealousy has been blinding the eyes of those who ought to have seen!*

This is new neither to you nor to me who discussed the matter many a time. But the fact seems to take hold of the masses. They resent something, they feel intensely uneasy, not knowing why. *The mountain has not yet emerged from the mist!*

Therefore I deem it so necessary that in the *mutual interest* of our two countries something gets done, to calm the passions and to enlighten the minds.

That's why I wrote this letter. I did not mean it to be an argument. About some vital questions, however, I could not speak as dispassionately as I wanted to. I feel keenly that the time of controversies is over. *We have now to cope with figures and facts, the sum total thereof being a Readjustment of the World.* In this world I see the place of our countries side by side to save the *Principle of Race*. The basis must be laid down now, during the war, not after it.

Believe me, my dear General, with the personal sentiments you know, always

very respectfully,

Yours

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